

## FORWARD TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND WORLD-WIDE SOLIDARITY OF ALL WORKERS

**TWO** great anti-war manifestos, adopted by the Socialist National Committee. One of these was the Anti-War Manifesto and Peace Program of the Socialist Party of America and covered the international phases of war. The other was a proclamation to the people of the United States in an attempt to draw their attention to conditions in this country.

### ANTI-WAR MANIFESTO AND PEACE PROGRAM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

**T**HE supreme crisis in human history is upon us.

European civilization is engulfed. The world's peace is shattered. The future of the human race is imperiled.

The immediate causes of the war are obvious. Previous wars and the terms of settlement which created lasting hatreds and bred thoughts of revenge; imperialism and commercial rivalries; the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente dividing all Europe into two hostile camps; secret intrigue of diplomats and lack of democracy; vast systems of military and naval equipment; fear and suspicion bred and spread by a vicious jingo press in all nations; powerful armament interests that reap rich harvests out of havoc and death, — all these have played their sinister part. But back of all these factors lie the deeper and more fundamental causes, causes rooted in the very system of capitalist production.

Every capitalist nation on earth exploits its people. The wages received by the workers are insufficient to enable them to purchase the goods they produce. The surplus value of their labor is appropriated by the capitalists. The capitalists cannot consume it all. It must be exported to foreign countries.

In every capitalist nation it becomes increasingly difficult for the capitalists to re-invest their accumulated profits to ad-

### OPPOSE WAR AND ALL AGITATION FOR WAR IS SOCIALIST APPEAL

#### PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

##### Fellow Citizens

**T**HE insidious propaganda of American militarism has received a powerful impetus through the destruction of American lives as a result of the war-operations in Europe. The jingo press of the country is busily engaged in reckless efforts to turn the crisis of natural indignation of the people into a savage howl of revenge. Short-sighted "patriots" and professional militarists are inflaming the minds and blinding the reason of their fellow citizens by appeals to na-

tional vanity. The sinister influences of the armament ring work through thousands of hidden channels to stimulate a war sentiment, which to it means business and profits.

In this grave hour of national crisis, the Socialist Party of the United States raises its voice in solemn and emphatic protest against this dangerous and criminal agitation, and proclaims its undying opposition to militarism and war. No disaster, however appalling, no crime, however revolting, justifies the slaughter of nations and the devastation of countries.

The destruction of the Lusitania and the killing of hundreds of non-combatants, men, women and children on board the steamer, brings more closely home to us the fiendish savagery of warfare and should inspire us with stronger determination than ever to maintain peace and civilization at any cost.

Strong armaments and military preparations inevitably and irresistibly lead to war as the tragic example of the nations of Europe has conclusively demonstrated.

We call upon the people of the United States to profit by the lesson of our unfortunate brothers on the other side of the Atlantic ocean and to throttle all efforts to draw this country into the dangerous paths of international quarrels, imperialism, militarism and war.

We call particularly upon the workers

of America to oppose war and all agitation for war by the exercise of all the power in their command, for it is their class who pays the awful cost of warfare, without receiving any of its rewards. It is the workers who primarily furnish the soldiers on the battlefield and give their limbs and lives in the senseless quarrels of their masters.

Let us proclaim in tones of unmistakable determination: "Not a worker's arm shall be lifted for the slaying of a fellow-worker of another country, nor turned for the production of mankilling implements or war supplies! Down with war! Forward to international peace and the world-wide solidarity of all workers!"

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the most violent storms of capitalist conflicts.

To the socialist and labor forces in all the world and to all who cherish the ideals of justice, we make our appeal believing that out of the ashes of this mighty conflagration will yet arise the deeper internationalism and the great democracy and peace.

As measures calculated to bring about these results, we urge

### OUR PROGRAM

**I. TERMS OF PEACE AT THE CLOSE OF THE PRESENT WAR must be based on the following provisions:**

1. No indemnities.  
2. No transfer of territory except upon the consent and by vote of the people within the territory.

3. All countries under foreign rule be given political independence if demanded by the inhabitants of such countries.

**II. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION—THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD.**

1. An international congress with legislative and administrative powers over international affairs and with permanent committees in place of present secret diplomacy.

2. Special Commission to consider international disputes as they may arise. The decisions of such commissions to be enforced without resort to arms. Each commission to go out of existence when the special problem that called it into being is solved.

3. International ownership and control of strategic waterways such as the Dardanelles, the Straits of Gibraltar and the Suez, Panama and Kiel Canals.

4. Neutralization of the seas.

**III. DISARMAMENT.**

1. Universal disarmament as speedily as possible.

**PENDING COMPLETE DISARMAMENT:**

1. Prohibition of war for private profit, and prohibition of exportation of arms, war equipment and supplies from one country to another.

2. No increase in existing armaments under any circumstances.

3. No appropriations for military or naval purposes.

**IV. EXTENSION OF DEMOCRACY.**

1. Political democracy.

(a) Abolition of secret diplomacy and democratic control of foreign policies.

(b) Universal suffrage, including woman suffrage.

**2. Industrial democracy.**

**RADICAL SOCIAL CHANGES IN ALL COUNTRIES TO ELIMINATE THE ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR,** such as will be calculated to gradually take the industrial and commercial processes of the nations out of the hands of the irresponsible capitalist class and place them in the hands of the people, to operate them collectively for the satisfaction of human wants and not for private profits in co-operation and harmony and not through competition and war.

**V. IMMEDIATE ACTION.**

Immediate and energetic efforts shall be made through the organizations of the Socialist parties of all nations to secure universal co-operation of all socialist and labor organizations and all true friends of peace to obtain the endorsement of this program.

**SOCIALISM MUST TRIUMPH.**

Comrades and workers of the world:—

A new page of human history lies open before us. Upon it must be written the full message and meaning of socialism—democracy, internationalism and peace. No greater, nobler task has ever appealed to man.

With firm, unflinching faith in the future of our cause and the ultimate triumph of these principles, we call upon all who love justice and peace and human progress to join with us in this our effort to build a higher and nobler civilization.

### SOCIALIST MEETING FACES BIG PROBLEMS

**W**ITH a world war raging in Europe and an unparalleled industrial crisis at home, the Socialist Party national committee opened its 1915 annual meeting in Chicago, Sunday, May 9, with huge problems confronting it.

"I know of no meeting of the Socialist Party that has ever had such great problems to contend with," declared Morris Hillquit, national chairman, in opening the sessions. "We have an extraordinary situation both at home and abroad. There are more big problems to cope with than have been the case in any preceding meeting."

In referring the whole problem of the American Socialist Party policy on world peace and disarmament to the national committee, the national executive committee expressed the hope, "That some policy may be outlined at the present session which will unite all the anti-war elements of our party and give us a leading place in the anti-war movement of the nation."

This whole matter will be brought be-

#### LANFERSIEK RE-ELECTED EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

The annual election of national officials of the Socialist Party by the national committee resulted as follows:

National Chairman—Morris Hillquit, New York. — Re-elected.  
National Executive Secretary—Walter Lanfersiek, Chicago. — Re-elected.  
National Executive Committee—Adolph Germer, Mount Olive, Ill.; Emil Seidel, Milwaukee, Wis.; James H. Maurer, Reading, Pa.; George H. Goebel, Newark, N. J., and Arthur LeSueur, Minot, No. Dak.

fore the national committee by the committee on resolutions and international relations which consists of Hillquit, New York; Brewer, Kansas; Hayes, Ohio;

Wilson, California, and Maurer, Pennsylvania.

Goebel, New Jersey, was the first to direct the attention of the delegates to the rapidly approaching 1916 presidential campaign, when he declared: "What we do this year determines what we are to do in 1916."

The woman's committee in seeking to unite all the forces working for woman's suffrage called a special meeting of all national committeemen coming from states where this question is now up.

The first real evidence of the legal oppression that the working class has been subjected to during the past year came to the attention of the committee in a startling manner, when there was no response as Fred W. Holt's name was called on the first day.

"In jail," announced the Oklahoma delegation. Holt is still incarcerated in

the federal jail at Fort Smith, Ark., where he is suffering with other coal miners the penalty of having revolted against the rule of the Arkansas mine barons.

Other committees appointed to handle the work of the convention were:

Officers' Reports: Raymond, Miss.; Reid, Rhode Island; Kintzer, West Virginia; Kirkpatrick, Illinois; Nichols, New Hampshire; Organization, Propaganda and Ways and Means: Rowser, Mass.; Seidel, Wis.; Garver, Mo.; McMillan, Iowa; Beardsley, Conn.; Plunkh controversy and the status of the foreign language federations: Nuorteva, Mass.; Sedler, Wash.; Solomon, New York; Duncan, Mont.; Le Sueur, N. D.

Michigan and Texas Controversies: Solomon, New York; Irish, Maine; Neisadt, Maryland; Beardsley, Conn.; Nichols, New Hampshire.

Greetings to Fred W. Holt and other victims of the capitalist courts were adopted by the national committee as follows:

Fred W. Holt.

County Jail.

St. Smith, Arkansas.

The National Committee of the Socialist Party in annual meeting assembled sends fraternal greetings and hearty congratulations to you and all comrades who have been deprived of liberty by a prejudiced capitalist judge because of your loyalty to the working class.

GORDON DEMAREST.

Secretary, Socialist Party National Committee.

kill the work among women, but rather to strengthen it. The general opinion of the delegates was that voiced by Janet Kornold in rendering the minority report when she pointed out that there was practically nothing done among women during the past year by the woman's department or the woman's committee.

## THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST PRIZE ASSET OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

In its report to the Chicago meeting of the National Committee, the Socialist Party National Executive Committee declared:

"THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST IS THE PRIZE ASSET OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT. WE BESPEAK FOR OUR NATIONAL PAPER THE ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT OF THE WHOLE MOVEMENT THAT IT SO GENUINELY MERITS."

## LET SOCIALISTS' VOICE BE HEARD IN EVERY QUARTER OF THE NATION

By ADOLPH GERMER

**B**E NOT deluded into the belief that because the strike in Colorado has been called off, everything goes on as harmoniously between capital and labor as at a Civic Federation banquet. No, no, the fight between man and dollar, justice and tyranny in the Dominion of Rockefeller, geographically known as Colorado, is as stubbornly contested today as when Rockefeller's private army of assassins, in a military uniform, sent death and destruction into the homes of the peace and liberty-loving strikers at Ludlow, Forbes and Walsenburg.

Though peace has been declared, the assassins of justice are conducting a relentless war. The methods now pursued are somewhat different from those of the previous Colorado strikes. Formerly the "agitators" were forcibly driven out of the state.

As a matter of fact, I am sitting within a few feet of the infamous Sherman Bell, under whose order the deportations of strikers were conducted. He was then adjutant general of the state militia and did his work so well that he is now a common gunman for an express company. The mine owners' association is through with him. He is no longer of any value to Rockefeller and colleagues. It was Sherman Bell who is credited with having said "To hell with the constitution." Now the assets in whose behalf he said that, say

"To hell with Sherman Bell." Peabody, who was then governor, received the same well deserved reward for his loyalty to the mine owners.

**IN THE RECENT** strike the miners were not deported. The strikers did what American subjects have a legal right to do — arm themselves for the protection of their lives and the lives of those dependent upon them.

The Rockefeller agents are now adopting a different method of execution. It is a more polished method and brings the same results.

The courts are now used to crush those who have the temerity to proclaim the rights of man.

A short time ago Zancannelli was tried for the murder of G. W. Belcher, the Baldwin - Felts thug imported into Colorado from West Virginia. It was Belcher and Belk who shot Gerald Lippitt, a union miner, to death in the street in Trinidad a month before the strike broke out.

Belcher was immediately released on bond. Zancannelli was held in jail for nearly 18 months before he was tried. The first trial resulted in a hung jury. He was tried again by a hand-picked jury, found guilty and sentenced for life.

Let it be remembered that Jesse Northcutt, Rockefeller's attorney, was appointed special prosecutor. This same Jesse Northcutt is in company with Belcher

when machine guns were transported from Trinidad to Walsenburg.

Jesse Northcutt, the representative of Rockefeller, is made the representative of the state in the prosecution of a person who is charged with having killed one of his (Northcutt's) partners in crime.

**THE NEXT MOVE** is the prosecution and conviction of John R. Lawson for the alleged killing of John Nimmo, a gunman, a colleague of butcher Linderfeld.

Lawson is more innocent of that charge than Rockefeller and Northcutt. I clearly recall the incident, for I was in the Colorado strike zone at the time. It happened the day after the mine guards had killed three miners in the streets of Walsenburg. Not a shot was fired from the miners' side.

At the time it was the consensus of opinion that Nimmo was killed by one of his own crowd. No matter what happened at that time, the strikers were blamed.

At any rate, John Lawson has been tried, found guilty and sentenced to hard labor for life.

Now, it cannot be said that Lawson was convicted because he is a socialist, for he is not.

John Lawson is very conservative politically. In the 1912 Presidential election he served on the State Advisory Committee of the Democratic party that helped to elect Governor Ammons and the whole

democratic state ticket.

Fred Farrar was elected attorney general at that time. Farrar was the only candidate elected on the democratic ticket last fall.

Lawson did not join the Socialist party during nor since the strike. Politically he is still very conservative.

**BUT JOHN** Lawson stood by the miners during the strike, and in turn, they stood by him. Here was the danger.

The case of Lawson reaches the workers and a lesson is that it is not only a case from which food for thought can be had. Every move that capitalism makes against labor bears a lesson. But here is a unique situation.

No one, not even the coal barons feel that Lawson had a thing to do with the killing of the mine guard. They know that Lawson stayed in the Ludlow tent colony, quite a distance from the scene of the shooting. They also remember that Lawson also prevailed upon the strikers to refrain from violent acts.

But in spite of all these facts, the Democratic Attorney General, who Lawson helped to elect, sends one of his assistants to Trinidad to prosecute him and rob him of his liberty. The District Attorney, who before his election, was attorney for the United Mine Workers, was superseded. The consultations of the prosecution were held and plans formed in the office of Jesse Northcutt, Rockefeller's attorney,

and yet Attorney General Farrar says that the coal barons had nothing to do with the prosecution.

Even the blind can see that 26 Broadway is the invisible government that rules Colorado and is behind this case. The capitalist class knows no political affiliation when labor rebels against unendurable conditions.

**BUT WHAT** are you going to do about it? Lawson is to be deprived of his liberty because the Rockefeller interests want it so.

If Lawson can be deprived of his liberty because Wall Street and Broadway want it so, the liberty of every one who has the courage to fight the despotism of a moneyed oligarchy is placed in jeopardy.

**IT IS LAWSON AND PAT QUINLAN TODAY. WE DON'T KNOW WHO IT WILL BE TOMORROW.**

Lawson is the victim in the west and Quinlan in the east, but in each case the same influences are behind the prosecution. No matter how much workingmen may do for either the republican or democratic party, during political campaigns, it doesn't save them from the gallows and the assassins lead when they fight the battles of labor on the economic field.

In the work of liberating the victims of this capitalist conspiracy, the Socialist party and Socialist press can render substantial service. We cannot stand back because Lawson is not a socialist. He is

a member of the working class and that makes our duty clear.

Let the Socialists' voice be heard in every quarter of the nation, not alone in protest against this miscarriage of justice, but at the same time emphasize the crying need for solidarity of labor on the political as well as economic field.

**THERE ARE** other active men indicted by picard grand juries. The conviction of Lawson is the harbinger of coming events and is giving hope and inspiration to the enemies of Labor. Lawson is the first, others are to follow. Unless the workers are aroused to the grave danger threatening them, capitalist will march roughshod over their protest bodies. Will you permit them to do it? Arouse from your indifference and organize for the defense! It is the division in labor's ranks that is giving the enemy courage. But a united front by the workers will render the capitalist class utterly helpless.

The Commission on Industrial Relations and the Congressional Committee investigating the Colorado strike have revealed enough crimes committed by Rockefeller, his associates and understrappers that if justice were done the whole band of highbinders would spend the rest of their lives where they are trying to send Lawson.

**THE FIGHT IS ON. EACH ONE HAS A DUTY TO PERFORM IN IT.**











### THIS COLUMN RECORDS THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF OUR SUB HUSTLERS FROM WEEK TO WEEK

Last Week	50,827
On	1,141
Loss	57,070
Net	1,517

This looks bad, doesn't it? Yes, it is not quite as bad as it looks. For the first time in the history of The American Socialist, and The Party Builder that preceded it, a physical inventory of the growing subscription list has been taken. We found that somehow, somewhere during the past two and a half years, a mistake must have slipped into the figures and we actually have a couple of thousand less subscribers than we thought we had. No, we just went to work and piled that couple of thousand onto our "off" and expect to resume our climb from now on.

Just the same, however, a loss is a loss and remains a loss unless it is made up.

Now I am going to ask a special favor of the men and women who have appeared in this column.

I AM GOING TO ASK YOU TO HELP ME MAKE UP THIS INVENTORY LOSS.

Make use of the special subscription blank.

LET US REACH THE 50,000 AT A SINGLE BOUND!

### ROLL OF HONOR

THE MAN ON THE JOB this week is J. A. ROBERTSON, Chicago, who has been a member of the Socialist Party for some time. He is a very active worker and has been very successful in his work.

J. A. ROBERTSON, Chicago, is now a member of the Socialist Party. He is a very active worker and has been very successful in his work.

THE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE PARTY BUILDER, this week is \$1.00. This is a very good contribution and shows the interest of our members in the party.

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## INSPIRING MANIFESTO OF SOCIALIST WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL

THE chief resolution passed by the International Socialist Women's Conference, recently held at Bern, Switzerland, at which representatives from Britain, Germany, France, Russia, U.S.A., Canada, etc., were present, ran as follows:

### THE CAUSE OF THE WAR.

THE PRESENT world war has its root in the Imperialist ideas of a Capitalist society. The possessing classes of every country have sought to strengthen their power by extending their dominion not only over the workers in their own countries but also beyond the frontiers of their own nations.

Behind these possessing classes is felt the constant pressure of financial interests which are international in character and which, in the great industry of armament-making, have exploited the nations themselves, setting them in competition one against the other.

The history will show the diplomatic crimes which led to the war, and will prove how vast is the guilt of the great powers.

The war has lasted eight months. Countless thousands of human lives have been destroyed. Invaluable gifts of civilization have been annihilated. The war has raised barriers of barbarism across the path of progress towards man's highest ideals.

The war began with the violation of international law which brought upon the unoffending, neutral country of Belgium the most terrible disasters. At the end of it the nations will be drained of their vital forces, their economic resources will be exhausted, and their social progress indefinitely retarded.

The interests of the working people of the neutral, as well as the belligerent states of Europe, nay, even of the whole world, are irreconcilably opposed to the present war.

In the nations at war the workers are united with their masters and divided from their fellow workers of other lands. In place of the war waged by the workers to raise their conditions and to secure their emancipation, is placed the "national truce," international fratricide takes the place of the international solidarity of the workers of the world. Not only streams of blood divide the peoples, but foul streams of hate, of self-glorification, of national and racial dishonour each nation, and hide the gifts which each has given to the common civilization of the world.

### THE PEACE WE WANT.

THE worker's love of country is used to impel him to pour out his energy, self-sacrifice and valour, not to gain his own emancipation, but to secure the triumph of Capitalist Imperialism.

In consequence of these considerations the Extraordinary Conference of Socialist Women declares:

War on this war! It asks the immediate end of this horrible strife between peoples and a peace that recognizes the rights of peoples and nations, both large and small, to independence and self-government, that enforces no humiliating and insupportable conditions upon any country, that requires explanation of the wrong inflicted upon Belgium, thus clearing the way for the peaceful, friendly co-operation of the nations. Such a peace is a necessary condition in order that in the belligerent countries the workers may awake from the spell of a Capitalist conception of nationalism, and that the Socialist and Labour organizations may assume their task as the conscious vanguard of progress, gathering and uniting the masses in a solid phalanx round the flag of International Socialism.

### HIGHEST DUTY OF WOMEN.

IT FURTHER expresses its conviction that only the clear, unalterable determination of the Labour and Socialist force in the belligerent

low workers of other lands. In place of the war waged by the workers to raise their conditions and to secure their emancipation, is placed the "national truce," international fratricide takes the place of the international solidarity of the workers of the world. Not only streams of blood divide the peoples, but foul streams of hate, of self-glorification, of national and racial dishonour each nation, and hide the gifts which each has given to the common civilization of the world.

### WORKING WOMEN, UNITE!

THE CONFERENCE therefore invites the working women of all countries to lose neither time nor opportunity in expressing their consciousness of international solidarity and their will for peace by demonstrations of every kind, fearing neither obstacles, persecution, nor danger. Never has there been such need for political action by women. History will record their action at this crisis, and the emancipation of women and the triumph of Socialism will depend on their courage and determination.

At this moment when disaster overwhelms the world, this Conference has proved that the bonds of sisterhood between the Socialist and Labour women of all countries, even those at war, stand fast. It has shown that they are united in having to perform, with a common will and common action, the same duty.

This Conference is full of hope that the working women of all nations will show the same unity in promoting international action for peace. Such action of Socialist women is the forerunner of the general movement of the workers to bring an end to fratricide, the first step in rebuilding the new society.

It is the duty of the Socialist and Labour parties in all countries to assume the conscious and energetic leadership in the struggle for peace.

### STORY OF SOCIALISM'S SWIFT ONCOMING

By GEORGE A. ENGLAND

THE one big, overshadowing fact in American political and economic life, to-day, is the swift oncoming of Socialism.

This development, here in the New World, is comparatively recent. Europe has, of course, known Socialism for many years.

But until recently, American Socialism has been a fairly negligible quantity. Now, however, all that is changed. The thing is here among us, to stay. Active, aggressive, growing so very rapidly that no man living can follow all its protean up-springings with absolute accuracy. Socialism meets us at every turn. It challenges attention. It cannot any longer be ignored.

No matter which way we direct our eyes, they encounter Socialism. It is already knocking at our inner doors, and will not be denied. Press, church, universities, political alignments, municipal, state and national elections, all bear witness to it. And most eloquent of all, the steadily-mounting Socialist vote and number of officials elected after election, bids us take notice that a new, a vital force is beginning to reshape the long-drawn bones of "Politics."

What manner of thing, now, is this? How is it organized, directed, managed? Whence springs its strength? Whither is it tending?

### ORIGINS OF MOVEMENT.

SOCIALISM in America is very largely a resultant of forces springing from the efforts of many unknown, forgotten men and their work—a work prodigiously wasteful of human energy and suffering. Fourteen centuries ago, in the far East, about the middle of the last century, were for the most part "Utopian" or "unscientific." The communistic enterprises resulting from them, such as the Harmony Society, the Icarian colonies, the Owenite and Fourierist experiments, and swarms of others, were doomed to a sad end. This too, in spite of their often brilliant personnel—as, for example, in the North American Phalanx and at Brook Farm.

The impracticability of Communism proved itself intrinsic rather than due to faulty philosophy. There were men at the time, in very many of these undertakings, the moving factor was religious, while the Socialist interest remained secondary. This unscientific period, despite all its heart-break, was salutary. It cleared away the last unscientific growth. Thereafter, American Socialism could advance onto more solid ground, as one branch of an international movement based on certain laws of economic evolution.

The middle of the nineteenth century witnessed the strong reality of scientific Socialism. In America, through the influence of the numerous refugees from persecution after the Prussian revolution of '48, William Weitling, the connecting link between Utopian and modern Socialism, gave the work a new foundation impetus, by publishing in New York a paper called "Die Republik der Arbeiter," and by organizing in 1850 a Central Committee of United Trades.

As a result of this and many other activities, a General Workmen's League came into being, numerous Socialist Turnvereine began to all the propaganda, and the movement spread widely until checked by the Civil War. The Anarchist philosophy thrust more than one of these associations into the background, and freed itself from Anarchist influences and from "Utopianism" only at a somewhat later date.

The Civil War weakened the movement, largely because of the great loss of life. However, the Socialist bodies, some of which sent forth their membership to fight for the Republic, had been long in the organization, reorganized. In New

## STORY OF SOCIALISM'S SWIFT ONCOMING

York, Chicago and San Francisco, American societies to affiliate with the European "International," the New York "General German Labor Association," which grew out of these societies, joined the International in '69, and modern American Socialism was fairly born.

But the movement grew so rapidly that it attracted considerable attention. Reformers of diverse sorts broke into it, with the usual result—eventual disruption.

Still, for some years the international carried on in America a more or less effective work. But Capitalism had not yet reached a sufficiently advanced state to produce as its reaction a stable and coherent Socialist movement. Difficulties of the movement began to disrupt the international and in 1876, at the last convention, at Philadelphia, formally dissolved the organization.

The "International Workmen's Association," organized in London, Sept. 28, 1864, the declaration of principles, was practically every Socialist platform since drawn up anywhere in the world.

### LATER DEVELOPMENTS.

YET AMERICAN Socialism was very far from dead. Two years previously, several dissenting sections of the international had formed the Social Democratic Workmen's Party. As the international lost ground, this new Party gained. A number of other bodies joined it. At its second convention, in 1877, the name was changed to "Socialistic Labor Party."

Far from uniformly successful were its developments. "Its history," says Morris Hillquit, "appears a series of incoherent events, ill-considered political experiments, sudden changes of policy, numerous alliances, internal and external strife and a succession of unsuccessful up-and-downs, with no perceptible progress or gain."

One prime difficulty lay in Americanizing the movement; for a time the principal mission of the Party Socialism was to educate the masses in the principles of the movement, and to organize them into a political party.

Regarding this with the Free Soil Party, the Socialists of America, successively supported the Republican Party and all the various local and national Labor parties, and in 1888, thoroughly defeated in a long and protracted campaign, that such compromises and divisions

were fruitless, they resolved upon independent action. This policy of "No Compromise, No Politics, Trading," the Socialists today—in spite of voluminous advice from Old Party politicians—are still steadfastly pursuing.

The first results of such tactics were far from encouraging. In 1888 the Socialist Labor Party was organized in New York City, differing from the old Party in its platform, its tactics, and its organization.

In 1892, the Socialist Labor Party ticket, that year, polled fewer than 3,000 votes in the United States as a whole. Two years later, this number had increased to only 13,000. In 1897, running a presidential ticket in six states, it was still but 21,512. But the following years brought a serious financial and industrial panic. The result showed plainly in 1898, for the vote leaped at once to more than \$2,000.

"History," says Morris Hillquit, "shows the Socialists in 1898, running a presidential ticket in six states, it was still but 21,512. But the following years brought a serious financial and industrial panic. The result showed plainly in 1898, for the vote leaped at once to more than \$2,000."

### DISRUPTION—REINTEGRATION

ALL THIS seemed of good augury, but, as usual, it was not to last. The Socialist Labor Party (S. L. P.), as its power grew, began to play an aggressive part in trades-union disputes. A schism resulted and the Party was widely disrupted.

Meantime, the American Railway Union, under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs, had been carrying on its great strike of 1894. Through Debs' influence, the Union adopted Socialist principles and at its last convention, 1897, resolved itself into the Social Democracy of America. The following year, the S. L. P., joining with this new body, formed the nucleus of the present Socialist Party of America.

Although this juncture was not complete in 1897, yet organized Socialist sentiment had already crystallized sufficiently to nominate tickets in five states. During the previous year, four Socialists had been elected in Massachusetts. The 1898 vote rose to more than 36,000.

After this election a joint convention was held at Indianapolis, attended by delegates from all Socialist organizations in the country, save the Debsite faction of the S. L. P. This group, even to-day, remains aloof from the Socialist Party, in spite of approaching extinction.

Eighty per cent of the delegates at Indianapolis were native-born Americans, a larger proportion than is sometimes found in conventions of the Old Parties. At present, the Socialist Party has a native-born membership of more than 10%.

By 1900 the Socialists had definitely "found themselves" in America. Their vote in State and Congressional elections, including the Territories, exceeded 230,000. In 1901 this vote ran beyond 498,000. The 1902 vote, because of many complex factors, showed only a slight gain, but the return for 1903 surprised both the politicians

## PENNY COSSACKS FEAR NASTY NUMBER CHARGES SO THE LEATHER CLUBS

In its war on organized labor the Pennsylvania Railroad calculates everything to the last degree of accuracy. It even goes so far as to figure out the relative value of leather clubs as against wood blackjacks.

In a time of strike the company manufactures its own police clubs in its own plant. Always it has guns on hand. Also it writes letters to ministers and public officials in an effort to properly direct their sympathies.

J. C. Harpaz, the road's police superintendent, was on the stand before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations at Washington, D. C., and he told a part of the story. It was Harpaz who gave the commission its information on the question of clubs. "We equip our men with leather clubs," he said. "We object to the use of the blackjack. The blackjack puts a hole in a man's head while the leather club merely stuns." In other words, the leather club gets the same practical result with less danger of nasty murder charges.

and the people at large, for when the totals were counted, they came to \$900,000. The 1912 vote exceeded \$900,000.

### NEXT WEEK—"THE PARTY TO-DAY."

Young People's Dept.

J. A. ROBERTSON, Jr., - - - Director

To reach the nation's youth with the message of Socialism and to bring them into the ranks of the party, the Young People's Dept. is organized.

Address all communications to Socialist Party Young People's Dept., 303 W. Madison St., Chicago.

## American Socialist LECTURE BUREAU

RALPH KORNGOLD, Manager

### OUR STAFF OF SPEAKERS

EMIL SEIDEL, Former Mayor of Milwaukee, Socialist Candidate for Vice President in 1912.

RYAN WALKER, Creator of Henry Dubb.

GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK, Author of "War, What For?"

### Total Number of Contracts Received Up-to-date

80

Watch This Figure Grow

### HERE ARE THE LIVE LOCALS THAT HAVE ALREADY SENT IN THEIR CONTRACTS:

ALABAMA—Alabama City.  
ARIZONA—Phoenix, Tucson.  
CALIFORNIA—San Diego, San Francisco, Fresno, Sacramento, Turlock, Oakland.  
COLORADO—Denver.  
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Washington.  
GEORGIA—Waynesboro.  
IDAHO—Pocatello, Twin Falls.  
ILLINOIS—Chicago, Evanston, Madison, Joliet, Chicago, Chicago.  
INDIANA—Indianapolis, State Line.  
IOWA—Des Moines, Council Bluffs, Elmira.  
KANSAS—Kansas City.  
LOUISIANA—New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Shreveport, Lake Charles, Trion, Ark.  
MAINE—Portland.  
MARYLAND—Baltimore.  
MASSACHUSETTS—Boston.  
MISSISSIPPI—Hattiesburg.  
MISSOURI—St. Louis, St. Joseph.

## TICKETS HAVE GONE OUT!

LAST week tickets for the Lecture Course were mailed to most of the locals. About 20,000 tickets have thus far been sent out and several thousand more will be dispatched this week.

WE CANNOT IMPRESS THE COMRADES TOO STRONGLY WITH THE NECESSITY OF STARTING IMMEDIATELY WITH THE SALE OF THE TICKETS.

It has been our experience as well as the experience of other papers that have conducted lectures on the subscription basis that the locals that make good are the ones who get on the job immediately.

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## REAL LIVE SOCIALISTS IN KANSAS

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We decided at a meeting of the Local May first to contract for the three lectures to be held at Ness City. We also decided to contract for the same lectures to come to Utoia (another town in Ness County) so send another contract to us at once.

LEONARD NOLL, Ness City, Kans.

The example of the Ness County comrades ought to shame many another larger local that is still holding back.

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